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AUTHOR Straka, Gerald A.
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ABSTRACT

To identify possible changes in the social functions of the Chinese educational system, content analyses were performed on selected national, Chinese language, primary school reading textbooks (First Edition, February 1978, Beijing People's Educational Press, Vols. I and II). Frequency of reference to each of the 10 regulations for children in primary school was tabulated. Additionally, informational, political, and behavioral content was investigated. Findings were compared with those of previous studies of reading textbooks used before the Cultural Revolution. Texts used after the Cultural Revolution demonstrated a clear and significant change from political to informational themes, but the magnitude of the change was found to be diminished when the content of exercise books was taken into consideration. To see if indicators could be found of the Chinese people's high regard for the elderly, mentions of old age in volumes I and II were tabulated. The elderly were mentioned far less frequently than were younger persons, children, pupils, and teachers, but when it occurred such mention was neutral or positive in manner. It is concluded that while the intellectual dimension now has become more important than previously, the political dimension retains a high priority. (RH)

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UNIVERSITAET BREMEN
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Diplomstudiengang Erziehungswissenschaft
P.O.Box 330 440
D-2800 Bremen 33/FRG

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GERALD A. STRAKA AND WILFRIED BOS(ASSOCIATE)

SOCIALIZATION OBJECTIVES FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (WITH A FOCUS ON THE PORTRAYAL OF THE ELDERLY)

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Requests should be made to
Dr. Gerald A. Straka
Professor for Education
Bremen University
FB 12, GW 2
P.O.BOX 330 440
D-2800 BREMEN 33/FRG

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1. SOCIALIZATION'S FUNCTIONS OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

Following the theory of Parsons (1965) and later developments by Fend (1974) educational systems have to fulfill the following social tasks:

- establishing general qualifications for social participation, vocational knowledge, skills, abilities (FUNCTION OF QUALIFICATION),
- reconstructing social structures (FUNCTION OF SELECTION),
- mediating norms, values, patterns of interpretation, politcal orientations (FUNCTION OF INTEGRATION).

These functions are establishing specific relations between the educational system and other subsystems of the society, i.e. the function of qualfication with the educational system and the production and employment system, the function of selection with the social structure, and the function of integration with the political system (Straka and Frommhold, 1976; Straka, 1984; Fend, 1974):

SOCIAL SYSTEMS	FUNCTIONS	EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
Production and employment system	Qualification	Instruction (instrumental objectives)
Social structure	Selection	System of examination and permits
Political system	Integration	Educational objectives, hidden curriculum

Specifying these social functions of the educational system says not much about their realisation. To prove this a lot of methodological problems have to be considered and solved, like the identification and definition of measurable criteria, intervening variables. They are to be met in relation

with hypotheses, which have to be tested (Weinert, 1972).

Straka (1983) made an attempt to describe and analyse the function of selection in the People's Republic of China using available data at that time. For the other social functions both no recent analyses are available till now, which go beyond general, abstract educational objectives. With a content analysis of selected national school textbooks published since 1978 a first effort shall be started to fill up this research gap. However, it should be noticed that school textbooks can only indicate WHAT SHOULD BE LEARNED AND NOT WHAT IS OR WAS LEARNED (Martin, 1975). Indeed school textbooks are intersubjective accessible materials which can be analysed objectively. In addition to this, Straka's observations of classes in different school types, grades, subjects and areas during a research visit of the People's Republic of China for serveral months in 1982 confirmed the importance of these educational materials in the instructional process. Therefore an analysis of these new materials might reveal first, objective and valid concretisations of certain dimensions of the educational systems's functions of qualification and integration actually and officially interpreted in China.

2. REVIEW OF CONTENT ANALYSES CONCERNING CHINESE PRIMARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

The latest published investigation with an objective close to this project is the study of Price (1980). He analysed every second Chinese language reader for the primary schools (1., 3., ...) which have been published about 1964 and after 1978. The dimension of analysis were the socio-political contents. They were differentiated in eleven categories: "PLA & war stories, moral-political, CCP leaders, classical stories, agriculture-rural, patriotic-symbolism, fables, children's topics, urban life, heroes, youth organizations."(Price, 1980,540) In addition to that he further evaluated the exercise tasks with the criteria "read aloud, recite, memorize, write from memory, write from dictation" (Price, 1980, 539). This is a new aspect concerning content analyses of Chinese primary school textbooks.

The cross sectional analysis (1964-1978), i.e. the inclusion of the historical dimension should be evaluated positively. However, Price gives no reasons for his eleven socio-political categories, i.e. they were introduced with no further comments. For the 1964'ies textbooks 134 indicator items were identified, and for the 1978'ies 107. The way how these were won Price describes as follows: "In most cases indicators were allotted one to each lesson item (story, poem etc.), but in a few cases, such as mention of the 'gang of four' more than one indicator was recored for a single item."(Price, 1980,539)

To our impression these indicators are much too isolated. It is not enough to

verify that indicators for "CCP leaders", "youth organizations", etc. are found in the lessons. Much more important is, whether these indicators are associated with certain behavioral appeals, patterns of behavior, models of social behavior. Therefore Price remains mostly on surface phenomena. And for the evaluation of the exercise tasks he uses neither a learning theoretical model nor categories which relate content and behavioral dimensions to each other.

The older study of Martin (1975) uses Longton's theory of "role formation". "family" and "peer group" were introduced as primary, "school" as secondary agents of socialization. School textbooks are concerned as an important factor of school socialization, especially in countries where these materials are produced and disseminated by politically controlled and centralized institutions. Martin (1975) uses thirtysix categories. She does not specify how they were established and what was the unit of anlysis. Further these categories were used for a comparison between Taiwan and China. Therefore it is particularly regrettable that the exercise tasks have not been included in the analysis, because they play a far more important role in the Taiwanese readers. For the analysis of the Chinese texts the translations of Ridley et. al. (1971) were used. This perhaps delivers the reason, why the exercises were excluded from the analysis.

A comparison of the Chinese readers of 1957-64 with the Taiwanese of 1970 seems to be a problem. There is a time lag of 6 to 13 years. Tnis can be important for nations in the status of establishing ("status nascendi"). The Ridley group translated 'only' 29 up to 40 per cent of the reading texts. Every second of these was included in Martin's analysis. A much more

important critic, however, is that a theory of socialization, which has been developed in a different culture, was used for the analysis of these books without testing, whether this theory was compatible with the educational aims of theses cultures.

Far more back lies the publication's date of the before mentioned study of Ridley et. al.(1971). This group of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University analysed the primary school readers which were published between 1957 - 1964 (i.e. before the Cultural Revolution). Three "major categories of stories" are introduced without detailed reasons: "1. Stories that are primarily informative, or informational. 2. Stories that have the development of specific political attitudes as their primary intent. 3. Stories that have behavioral modeling as their primary intent."(Ridley et. al., 1971, 19)

For these "major categories" the following subcategories were introduced without further reasons:

I. "Informational themes" : "(1) Basic agricultural and/or farm knowledge, (2) knowledge about Chinese Communist institutions, history, and/or personalities, (3) knowledge and traditional Chinese history, culture, and/or personalities, (4) basic scientific and technical knowledge, (5) basic knowledge of physiology and/or hygiene, (6) basic social knowledge and customs, (7) basic knowledge about natural history, (8) miscellaneous general knowledge, (9) knowledge about non Chinese leaders of the Communist movement, (10) basic academic knowledge, (11) basic knowledge about China."(Ridley, et. al., 1971, pp. 95)

II. "Political themes" : "(1) Devotion and allegiance to the new society, (2) benevolence of the new society, (3) glorification of Mao, (4) evils of Kuomintang China, (5) military conflict, (6) social conflict, (7) deception, (8) love for the people, (9) nationalism, (10) evils of tradtional Chinese society, (11) anti-Japanese sentiment, (12) internationalism, (13) anti-Americanism, (14) anti-imperialism, (15) unity of theory and practice, (16) anti-capitalism, (17) dedication to revolution of other peoples, (18) anti-Chiang sentiment, (19) liberation of women." (Ridley, et. al., 1971, pp. 128)

III. "Behavioral themes" : "(1) Social and personal responsibility, (2) achievement, (3) altruistic behavior, (4) collective behavior, (5) prosocial aggression, (6) conquest of natural environment, (7) role acceptance, (8) starting from reality, (9) esthetic aspects of nature and/or farm life, (10) willingness to accept advice and criticism, (11) love of labor, (12) bad consequences of improper behavior, (13) behavioral techniques for resisting enemy invasion and occupation, (14) internal reward and satisfaction, (15) love of study, (16) responsiveness to affiliation for nature and farm life, (17) anti-superstition."(Ridely, et. al., 1981, pp. 155)

The subcategories of the general categories II and III are further subdivided. By doing this Ridley et. al. (1971) receive about one hundred categories. With this fine raster they get a basis for detailed content analyses, statistical processing and summarizing analyses. But Ridley et. al. (1971) make one more step. Without further reasons they differentiate again between "central theme" and "subtheme". By doing this there are some doubts concerning the stringence of their analysis' raster. For example: in the 1978 Chinese reading textbook, volume 1, page 43 you'll find in the lesson "In the new village" the following sentence "Everybody loves to learn, everyone loves to work". Using the raster of Ridley et. al. (1971) the question is which categorie should be used? General categorie III, 15 (love of study) or III,11 (love of labor) and what is "central theme" and "subtheme"? This problem problem occurs only for one sentence. Much more difficult may be the classification of a whole story. And to get some valid, reliable, and objective data, some coefficients of interrater validity, reliability and objectivity are necessary. They are not to be found in this publication.

Ridley et. al. (1971) related their findings to grades. However, they computed no frequencies for the different grades. By obmitting this they lost the possibility to reveal tendencies, differences which might be indicators for assumptions about intellectual and moral development.

For the major categories (general themes) the following frequency distribution can be found in Ridley et. al. (1971, 88):(1)

		%	
I	"Informational themes"	14	
II	"Political themes"	36	
III	"Behavioral themes"	50	
		100	N = 1375

Tab.: 1

If the indicators are classified according to the subcategories and computing the percentage frequencies, the results are the following:

"INFORMATIVE THEMES"		"POLITIAL THEMES"		"BEHAVIORAL THEMES"	
Category	%	Category	%	Category	%
(1)	24	(1)	28	(1)	20
(2)	22	(2)	16	(2)	17
(3)	15	(3)	9	(3)	14
(4)	9	(4)	7	(4)	11
(5)	8	(5)	6	(5)	6
(6)	7	(6)	6	(6)	4
(7)	4	(7)	6	(7)	4
(8)	4	(8)	4	(8)	4
(9)	4	(9)	4	(9)	4
(10)	2	(10)	2	(10)	3
(11)	2	(11)	2	(11)	3
		(12)	2	(12)	3
	100	(13)	2	(13)	2
	N: 188	(14)	1	(14)	2
		(15)	1	(15)	1
		(16)	1	(16)	1
		(17)	1	(17)	1
		(18)	1		
		(19)	1		100
					N: 686
			100		
			N: 501		

Tab.: 2

It might be interesting to see that in the ten Chinese primary school readers 61 percent of the "informational themes" consist of the categories one to three ("basic argricultural and/or farm knowledge" (1), "knowledge about

Chinese Communist institutions, history, and/or personalities" (2), "knowledge and traditional Chinese history, culture and/or personalities" (3)). On the other side category (10) "basic academic knowledege", (11) "basic knowledge about China" have a proportion of two percent both. This means together they have been discovered eight times (Ridely et. al., 1971,98). These results clearely reveal the keypoints of the education. For trendanalyses (i.e. 1964 - 1978), however, it might be recommended - as demonstrated later on - to reduce the number of categories.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANALYSIS' RASTER

"The direction of our education is that everyone who will be educated should develop morally, intellectually, and physically to an educated worker with socialist consciousness" (Mao, 1957, 418). The "educated worker with socialist consciousness" is today still the educational goal (Straka, 1983,16). In the still young history of the People's Republic of China the importance of the dimensions "moral" and "intellectual" has been different. An indicator for this are the different interpretation of the dimension "red" and "expert". This discussion started after the "One Hundred Flowers Campaign" (Eltner 1964, 16)

With Teng's initiated change of the political direction since 1976 the dimension "expert" seems to have become more important. In Teng's two programmatic speeches concerning science and education, with which this change was recorded and documented, he said besides other things the following: "Our people face the great historic mission of comprehensively modernizing agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology within this century I= Four Modernizations ... The crux of the four modernizations is the mastery of modern science and technology."(Teng, 1978, 10). "Scientists and technicians should concentrate the energy on scientific and technical work. When we say that at least five-sixths of their work time should be left free for their scientific and technical work, this is meant to be the minimal demand."(Teng, 1978, 14) This means for students the main task is to study, to learn book knowledge, i.e. science and culture according to the May 7 Directive of Chairman Mao (Teng 1978a, 7).

At the National Educational Work Conference Teng (1978a) formulates directives like:

- catch up and surpass advanced world levels in science and technology,
- improve the quality of education and raise the level of teaching in science and culture, not only at the higher level but,

in the first instance on the secondary and elementary level.

- strengthen the revolutionary order discipline in the schools to bring up a new generation with socialist consciousness,
- relate education to the requirements of the national economic development,
- respect work of the teachers and raise their level of proficiency.

Refering to additional Chinese sources Lo (1984,50) demonstrates the importance of primary education for the Four Modernizations with the following resumee: "Thus, the aim of primary education is to lay the foundation for the preparation of future citizens with socialist morality and advanced scientific knowledge." Therefore the question is, whether and how this directives have already entered the new, preliminary, national school textbooks produced after the Cultural Revolution.

The 'major categories' of Ridley et. al. (1971) ("informational, political, and behavioral themes") cover some of Fend's social functions of the educational system (Fend, 1974, pp. 64). The "informational themes" are approximately equivalent to the function of qualification, the "behavioral themes" to the norms, values, and patterns of interpretation, which are part of the function of integration on the one side, and the "political themes" on the other. In relation to the discussion in the People's Republic of China the dimension "expert" is nearly comparable to the "informational themes" and

therefore with Fend's function of qualification. "Red" includes the "political themes" and is therefore a part of the function of integration. The dimensions "red" and "expert" are more detailed concretizised with the "ten regulations" for the primary school of 1979 (Straka, 1983, 20). For these the "five loves" (motherland, nation, physical work, science, and public property) and the "three good" (good health, learn good, work good) are the basis for these "ten regulations" (Chinesisch Deutsches Woerterbuch. 1964, 489). The "five loves" are not new. They have already been proposed as goals by Hu Yen-Li in 1951 (Ridley et. al., 1971, pp. 36).

The social goals for the educational system on the micro level (i.e. the instructional level) not only enter the teaching materials. On this level instructional principles are added. They have not only consequences for the structure and "Gestalt" of the texts but especially to the lessons' exercise tasks. The assumption is that especially in these tasks, i.e. what has to be copied, memorized, written memorized, recorded etc., is indicated the importance of the social aims.

Therefore the procedure for the analysis of the texts and excercises of volume one and two of the Chinese readers is the following:

- Analysis of texts and exercises on the basis of the primary school's actual valid" ten regualations" (=function of integration, dimension "moral", "red")

and

- balancing out the importance of the dimensions "moral" and "expert" by refering the categories of Ridley et. al. (1971).

This raster of analysis, which is won from Chinese views of education, is a preliminary one. The reasons are that up till now only the first two volumes of the readers have been translated to German, the reliability of the cateogries has not yet been tested, and because the categories of a content analysis are developed in interdependance between theory (hypothesis) and the concrete material, by rules of construction and relation which have to be revised and tested during the analysis (Mayring, 1983, 48).

4. SOME PRELIMINARY RESULTS CONCERNING THE FUNCTION OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION

The content analysis was run for volume one and two of reading textbooks for the ten graded full-time school, (Chinese) language, first edition February 1978, Beijing People's Educational Press. The pre "Cultural Revolutional" comparative materials have been the equivalent English translations of Ridley et. al. (1971).

TEN REGULATIONS/PRIMARY SCHOOL	BOOKS BEFORE 1966 N	%	BOOKS AFTER 1976 N	%
1. Love the motherland and the people, study diligently, make progress daily	7	14	14	18
2. Come to school at time, don't stay away from school	-	-	1	1
3. Follow the instruction whith full concentration, finish homeworks conscientiously	1	2	2	3
4. Do physical exercise regularly, take part at the cultural life actively	-	-	1	1
5. Pay attention on health, keep the clothes clean, don't spit out everywhere	-	-	1	1
6. Love (physical) work, and make on yourself things that can be done by oneself	6	12	11	15
7. Respect school and public discipline	-	-	2	3
8. Respect parents and teachers, be solidary with the schoolmates, be polite to others, abuse and beat nobody	2	4	4	5
9. Care for the collective, protect public property, hand out findings	7	14	5	7
10. Tell the truth, correct mistakes	3	6	3	4
No indicators (2)	23	46	31	41
	50	100	75	100

Tab.: 3 N: Lesson (= unit of analysis)

In the textbooks before the Cultural Revolution these regulations were mentioned in 27 or 54 percent of the lessons of the two volumes. In the equivalent volumes of the 1978 edition these directives were found in 44 of the 75 lessons, or in 59 percent of them. After the Cultural Revolution the values of regulation one (love motherland and people, study diligently, make progress daily and six (love (physical) work, make things on oneself) are mentioned most frequently. With a distinct distance follows regualation nine (care for the collective, protect public property, hand out findings). In the lessons before 1966 these three regulations had nearly the same frequency.

The analysis of the exercises in the post Cultural Revolution readers concerning the "ten regulations" has the following results:(3)

REGULATIONS	SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS (READERS) SINCE 1976 READERS N	%	%	EXERCISE TASKS N
(1)	14	32	32	19
(2)	1	2	-	-
(3)	2	5	3	2
(4)	1	2	22	13
(5)	1	2	3	3
(6)	11	25	13	8
(7)	2	5	5	3
(8)	4	9	7	4
(9)	5	11	10	6
(10)	3	7	7	4
	44	100	100	61

Tab.: 4

In the reading parts of the lessons of volume one and two of the Primary school textbooks the order of the "ten regulations" is: (1), (6), (9), (8), ... The order of these regulations' indicators changes in the exercise tasks as follows: (1), (4), (6), (9), ... In the reading texts regulation four (do

physical exercise, take part at the cultural live actively) is indicated only once and in the exercise parts on the contrary 13 times. There it reaches with 22 percent of the indicators rank two. Regulation six (love (physical) work, make things on yourself which can be done on oneself) follows on rank three. However the portion is much smaller in the exercises than in the reading texts. Regulation nine (take care for the collective, protect public property, hand out findings) has rank four in the exercises. However, the difference to the reading texts, where this regulation has rank three is only one per cent. Rank four in the reading texts has regulation eigth (respect parents and teachers, be solidary with the other classmates, be polite to others, abuse and beat nowbody). Finally we found in both parts of the lessons an equal portion of indicators for regulation one (love motherland and the people, study diligently, make progress daily) which is in accordance to the overview analysis of Rosen (1983). And striking is that regulation four is nearly exclusively indicated in the exercises.

5. COMPARISON OF THE DIMENSIONS "MORAL" AND "INTELLECTUAL"

The three major categories of Ridley et. al. (1971) were used to find out if there is a difference between the reading textbooks before the Cultural Revolution (before 1966) and after it (after 1976) in the dimensions of "moral" and "intellectual" or "red" and "expert".

	BEFORE 1966		AFTER 1976	
THEMES	N	%	N	%
"Informational"	60	14	39	22
"Political"	138	31	38	21
"Behavioral"	244	55	101	57
	442	100	178	100

Tab.: 5 p 0.01

In the reading texts there is a clear and significant shift mostly from the political themes to the informational. An analysis of the exercises for the editions since 1978 shows the following: (4)

THEMES	N	%
"Informational"	50	28
"Political"	48	27
"Behavioral"	85	46
	183	100

Tab.: 6

The "intellectual" or "informational" dimension has an even higher portion in the exercises (28 %) than in the reading texts of 1978 (22%). A similar trend was found for the "political/red" dimension. Its portion is in the exercises 27 percent in comparison with 21 percent in the reading texts. These trends go on the costs of the "behavioral" themes.

6. THE PORTRAYAL OF THE ELDERLY

There is a lot of consideration and evaluation about the status of the older adult in China. In a recent paper, presented on the annual meeting of the Gerontological Society of America in San Antonio, november 16-21, 1985, Gordon Streib was impressed of the high esteem of the elderly in China. They are respected by their families and the whole society. Therefore the question came up if there are certain indicators which confirm this impression.

In volume one of the reading textbooks old age is mentioned in the following ways:

- Grandfather, grandmother in relation to other relative like father, mother. (Basis exercise 1, p. 42)
- Ancestry and grandfather. (Lesson 15, exercise part, p. 61)
- The story "The little cat is fishing"; the little cat turns away from fishing following first a dragon-fly, later a butterfly, and trying to catch them without success; whereas the old cat concentrates itself successfully on fishing; at the end of the story the old cat gives the advice: Fishing is fishing, and it should not be inconsistent; catching the dragon-fly for a while, catching the butterfly for a while.(Lesson 21, pp. 78)
- Grandfather is giving the solution. (Lesson 23, basis excercise 8, p. 87)
- Age in relation to other relatives like mother, father. (Basis exercise 10, p. 110)

In volume two age is mentioned only once:

- In the story 'Taking the moon out of the water' where an old monkey is helping younger monkeys to solve the problem and is giving the solution of it after all. (Lesson 39, pp. 115)

Compared with other social roles bearers like younger persons, children, pupils, teachers, the elderly are far more less mentioned. But when older persons are introduced it is done in a neutral or positive manner. Content analyses of further textbooks will have to show, if old age is 'no problem' for China.

7. SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

The intellectual dimension seems to have become more important. The analysis results of the reading texts gives the impression that the political dimension has decreased in comparison with the readers before the Cultural Revolution. However this has to be revised for the textbooks after 1978 when the exercises are included. In this part the political dimension is nearly equivalent to the intellectual. From the viewpoint of a learning-teaching theory which focusses the importance of the "learning task" (Straka 1983a) there are good reasons for the assumption, that the exercise tasks most clearly indicate which educational aims are the most important. Therefore it seems that the realizsation of political objectives is forced via the indirect method, i.e. over the exercises. For example: in lesson 33, volume two the festival of a national minority is recorded. The reading text consists of five paragraphs with 16 lines in total. Each paragraph gives information about the specifics of this minority. One paragraph, the largest with even six lines, contains additional political informations, like: the national government represented by chancellor Zhou and the minority respect each other. And only this paragraph has to be momorized as an exercise task demands.

Therefore it seems that the political dimension has still high priority. We assume that its importance will increase. Indicators for this assumption are different press' statements, the change of the national entrance examinations (Straka 1983), the announcement that the subject "moral instruction" is planned to be introduced in all China's primary schools (BR(G), (1982),33), Lo (1984). A test of this assumption is reserved to further analysis of the latest, revised reading textbooks for China's primary schools.

8. NOTES

1 Rounded percent figures.

2 Chi square test cannot be used because the cell frequencies are to small.

3 'No indicator' has no meaning in that case because there are lessons without excercise parts.

4 A comparion with the books before 1966 was not possible at that time because Ridley et. al. (1971) excluded the exercise parts from their translations and analyses.

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